648 According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or
horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were
[492] in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who
●[177] rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided
[262] among the band.

616

PATRILINEAL GROUPS

[526] In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa''ci and the t'aɥlɛlɛ'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack [302] pɛ''ulɛlt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was [611] paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɥlɛlɛlt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa''ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa''ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: [526] Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

[361] At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped [221] in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flank- [526] ing a smaller central group, the t'atailgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɥlɛlɛlt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pɛ''ulɛlt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atailgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, [177] respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atailgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa''ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɥlɛl, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga''a" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name [184] indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

[177] Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

THE LIFE CYCLE

CHILDBIRTH

844 A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say [603] the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three [846] or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

---

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

881 appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of
535 the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck
574 with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another,
● [177] not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five
to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instru-
[439] ment. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for
a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

[534]

[114]

MARRIAGE

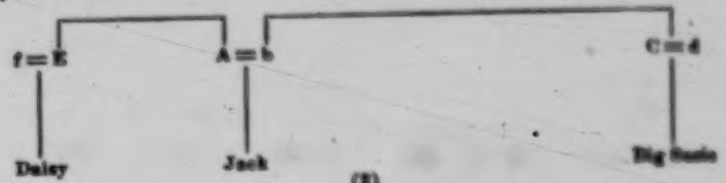
About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One
583 account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin,
584 shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

591 Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted dur-
[768] ing the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the
young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

601 Bill calls McCarty's wife le'yu; she calls Bill and his wife le'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father ti.e'bil, and is called le.e'bil in turn. He calls his father's mother ti'a'ma and is called le'a'ama in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tike'e, and she calls "back to him" leke'i.



(2)

Jack calls C tita'a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi'teuk, and E ti.e'.ssi. *Jack would call the* children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiya' pume'li, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita'a tamlel'ya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as timlel'ya tawi'teuk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipe'yu taso'wn, my younger brother's daughter.

DANCES

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the galo'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part. [534]

Dave referred to a me'luwe'uc dance (old men lively? dance) called "love dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the Digger Indians northward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a foxskin in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way." ● [177] [171]

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several [537]

535
versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to amuse themselves [537]
and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the [177]
spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and [177]
did likewise. 527

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes [535]
women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabalo'cpa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also [526]
an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

GAMES

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli'"liwa palo'yap), the hoop- 526
and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (taigal'yaga). In pure gam- [525]
bling there were the hand game (hinal'yaya, hinaiya'ukia), another hiding game (tso'tsuyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ho'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In pehu"s, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest ("tsohotumpeah," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpal'yayapa, pululpaiyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

---

Culin, op. cit., 704.

Ibid., p. 396.

Ibid., 523.

Once, an old Indian was walking along a trail by himself when he saw two persons coming toward him—a woman with a basket, and an old man with bow and arrow and carrying a blanket on his back. The Washo sat down under a piñon tree and was wondering who they were. He thought they would reach him soon, but they did not arrive at all. "It was the Devil." Soon the old man got paralyzed. After a while he rose and went on. He said to himself, "Well, I think those are not people. I am going [to die] soon, he has taken my life away. That is the kind my father used to tell me about, and now I have seen it. I don't know whether these are dead people or what." The old man bled from the nose. He said, "Don't take my life away, leave me alone. I do not want to be like you. I want to live as long as I can." Soon he went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. 776 539

Sometimes [Dave has heard] Washo Indians would see tracks in the snow showing feet as long as a man's entire arm. They would get frightened and would not follow the tracks.

Once, Dave was staying alone in a house at Tahoe City on Lake Tahoe. He was dreaming about something and felt a heavy weight, like a hundred pounds, on him. He tried to remove his blanket, and finally he succeeded in getting into the open. Another Indian and his wife had a similar experience in the same house. Dave thinks it might be caused by the ghosts of white people who used to live there. He could not see anything, he merely had the sensation of being held down. [775]

Somewhere two Indians were sleeping in a room in some old house. It was a cold night. Soon they heard a knock at the door. They were awake, opened the door, but no one was to be seen. They went out and around the house, but saw nothing. Possibly dead people were doing it. Soon there was a noise inside of somebody walking around. They could not see anything. They warned other people against ever sleeping inside that house. 775 539

Two Indians were going up a mountain with bows and arrows to shoot woodchuck. They met half a dozen dead people who looked as though alive and were hunting with bow and arrow. They were cooking squirrels and other food, sat around their fire at noon, and, because they were dead, would not answer the Indians' questions. They just ate the squirrels, but drank no water. When the Indians spoke, no one of the other group answered or looked at them. One of the Indians, who was old, said, "You dare not come over and talk to us; we belong on the mountains." Still there was no answer. The speaker returned to his companion and said, "Well, we can't do anything with them. They just eat the squirrels they kill." Both hunters were alarmed and quickly went away. It was dark on their return and they lost their way, not finding the trail at first. When they got home the next day, they said nothing.

The Washo were too close to the Paviotso to escape contact with Wovoka's gospel, but reacted with individual differences to it. Jack, for example, was skeptical and contrasted the alien conception unfavorably with the old Washo belief that souls go south to join the Father of the Indians. The Paviotso say that after a while the souls return. "They dance and the souls come back." A recent (1926) Washo doctor, in the manner of Wovoka, alleged to have visited the dead, reporting he had seen plenty of Indians in the land of spirits, with green grass everywhere, also fire (?). The dead would say to him, "Well, what have you come here for? You have not died; go back. When a man or woman dies, he stays here. Do not come back any more." Jack has no faith in this; old-time doctors never reported visits to the dead. According to one informant, Wovoka prophesied a big storm but it did not come true, and his own Walker River people were going to kill him as a false prophet, so he stopped. 775 177 ● 668

CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating
515 (titə'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to
224 one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain
789 would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No
[343] rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pəhə''tsiŋ t'a'ŋa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ŋalita kumto'ea.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

[114] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[illegible] who records—though as a
[177] probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (al'yas kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and
224 the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got
756 his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was
787 living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

---

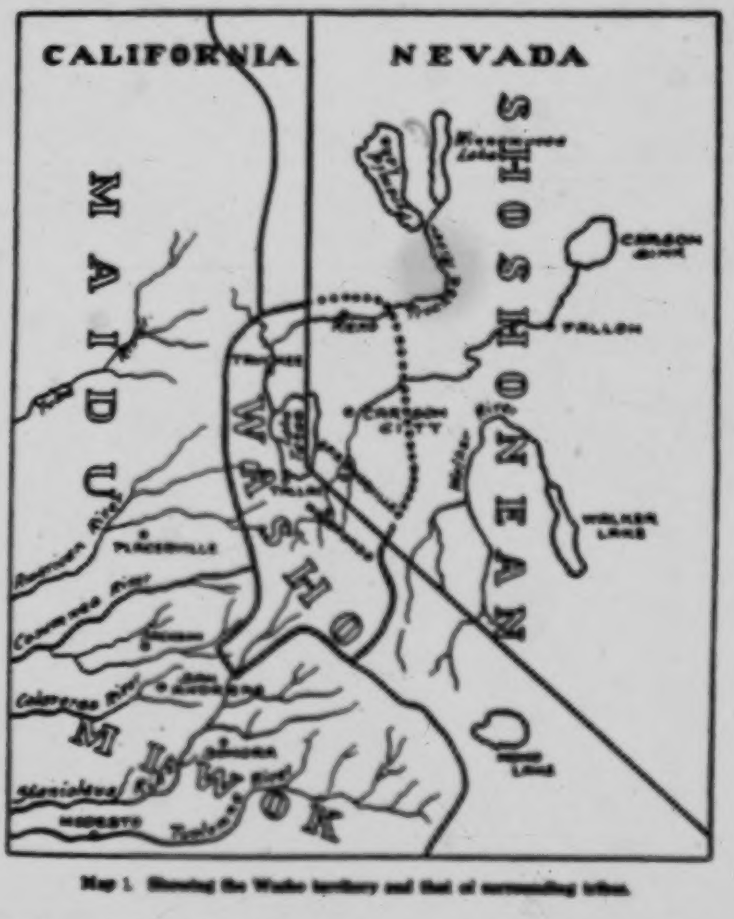
[113] [illegible] Kroeber, Handbook, 872.

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ɨkue) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the
Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which
they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not
[177] smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

A ba'kumta'liɨe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
825 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried
777 the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in
hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa'ei, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing
against him (Bill).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized 137
by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species 262
of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the 177


CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
SHOSHONEAN
MAIDU
WASHO
MIWOK
Winnemucca Lake
Carson Sink
Fallon
Reno
Carson City
Walker Lake
Placerville
American River
Cosumnes River
Calaveras River
Stanislaus River
Modesto
Tuolumne

102
101
133
103

Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

sequoia and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as 137
food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element. 262

The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, 177
similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized 136
174

136
174
chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133]
[226]
Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.
[132]
[221]

101
174
● 177
[171]
Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177
182
Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621
[594]
[619]
The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the 342
southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass.

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere
low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate
III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found
very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the
east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For [171]
warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with [354]
an open fire.

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi- 344
subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly [171]
used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi.

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of 262
the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still some- 177 ●
what used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family.

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leû), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the prin- 224
cipal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As
the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat,
sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men
were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to
the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples,
[777] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration
should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break
one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the
hunters."

224 So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required
624 a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief
[428] himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but
especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe'leu
lewe tí'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant
in this case said that the term tí'yeli could not be translated as
chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and
importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single
hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be
[226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit
drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official,
he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the
arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should
be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting
and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used
224 in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was
ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow
(plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed.
[177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive
weapons.

226 As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo
[262] food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (tí'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the
larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

---

[1] [see cat. 11C, p. 39 --An.]

Mush cooking basket in diagonal-twined technic, cylindrical 285
Plate VII, fig. 2. kûya'nda 192
Small coiled basket of any form used for serving food tsiña'm [252]
Plate VIII, figs. 2-5; plate IX.
Coiled basket of truncated cone form gī'ûleû
Plate VII, fig. 1; plate VIII.
Very small basket of truncated cone form, used as a cup
and for serving food ī't mahadas
Plate VIII, fig. 1.
Canoe-form or elliptical basket taiyûta'tī
(said to be a new form)
Plate X, figs. 1 and 4.
Small coiled basket with strongly curved sides and small
opening tsiñam degīkûp*, dēûlelī'we
Plate IX, fig. 3.

285 482 Burden baskets are, as a rule, very sharply conical. It is unusual to see one with even slightly rounded sides such as that shown in figure 4 of plate XIII. All are strengthened at the point of the cone by a few extra courses of three-strand twining. These baskets are used very roughly and the point soon wears through. It is then reinforced by a rawhide or buckskin patch as is shown in figures 3, 4, and 6 of the same plate.

285 352 171 The cradle is of the usual Great Basin type with detachable woven sun shade bearing a design indicative of the sex of its occupant. The one shown in plate XII, fig. 3, is a girl's cradle. The design usually employed on a boy's cradle is a series of diagonal parallel lines as shown in text figure 4.

DESIGNS.

285 531 [171] The limited time available did not permit a careful study of Washo basketry designs which, in general, are fairly elaborate, as will be seen by referring to plates VII-XI. Much more elementary designs appear in the older baskets, indicating, as is borne out

---

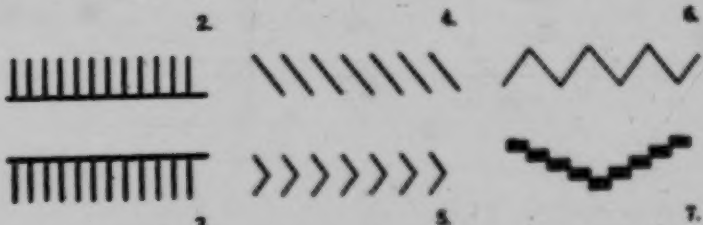
*degīkûp signifies "curved in at the top."

285
531
[177]

by the information obtained from the Washo, that many of these elaborate designs are copied from the basketry of other tribes or from trade objects and are used in these baskets to make them more saleable. The following limited number of design names were obtained.

531
192

Any horizontal straight line such as the plain band of design running about a basket, any streak of color, or any line or band running around an object, such as a hat band, a rope around a tree, or the like, is called dogo'yaû gi''gal, literally "straight line horizontal." See plate X, figs. 6 and 7.



Any short vertical line extending upward from a design or from another line, as in fig. 2, is called dogo'yaû ellwe, literally "straight line up."

Any short, vertical line extending downward from another design, as in fig. 3, is called dogo'yaû eti, literally "straight line down."

A series of short slanting straight lines, as in fig. 4, is called tegûbile'cûwe, which signifies "twisted on", and is derived from tegû'bila, "crooked, bent over, or twisted", and e'cûwe, "on".

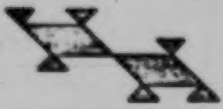
A design such as is shown in fig. 5 is called tatsi'tac, signifying "corners." From tatsi'lgac, "a corner".

Any zigzag design, whether a simple zigzag, as in fig. 6, or a more complex one, as in fig. 7, is called tegûkû'lkûl, translated "zigzag" and said to be derived from tegû'bila, signifying "crooked, bent over, or twisted".

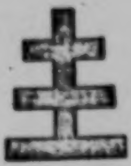
Practically any triangular design is referred to as "arrow-head", (matca'tl). The arrow-head design may be combined into a number of different, more complex figures. The simplest form of arrow-

531
192 The design of small squares or dots shown in fig. 19 is called daguboloye'cûe, translated as "little spots in lines."

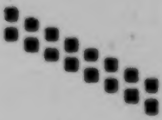
The design shown in fig. 21 is called tegûkû'ikûl tagûm hahat, translated "zigzag crossed."



17.



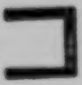
18.



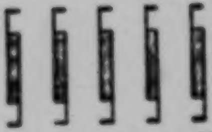
19.

The two designs shown in figs. 20 and 22 are called mû'tkûsa, translated "forked."

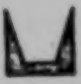
Not all the baskets shown in the accompanying plates were available when the information concerning basketry designs was obtained but informants were questioned on a considerable number of other designs than those given above. No other terms were obtainable. Very frequently they stated that the design under consideration "had no name", or that it was a "new style" design, indicating that it was copied after some whiteman's pattern. [177]



20.



21.



22.

CONCLUSION.

171 It thus appears that the Washo have certain strong cultural affinities with their neighbors of the California area on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. These relationships appear particularly in the use of the conical slab dwelling and the semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; in the adoption of the acorn as a food; and in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled bas-

ketry. In having a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names, accompanied by modifying terms, they also resemble certain tribes of the California area. 171

The similarities of the Washo culture to that of the Great Basin region to the east, on the other hand, are very strikingly shown in the fact that the foods are almost identical, and in that very similar methods are employed in securing the same. Especially is this the case in certain nets used in fishing and rabbit hunting, and in the methods employed in handling the piñon nut and other vegetal foods. The twined basketry of the Washo resembles very closely in many respects that of the Great Basin culture, and certain stone implements, particularly the metate and muller, are also very similar to those used in that area.

While otherwise the social organization of the Washo appears to have been in aboriginal times very simple, the absolute control exercised by the "rabbit boss," or hunting chief, over all matters pertaining to communal hunting and fishing, presents a very interesting and peculiar feature of the Washo culture. 621 624

It will thus be seen that the Washo culture has certain strong affinities with that of the California area and also with that of the Great Basin area, but that in general it is somewhat more closely allied to the latter than to the former. This is but natural on account of the situation of the Washo, which is largely within the Great Basin, and on account of the facility of communication and easy interchange of culture between them and the several Great Basin tribes immediately to the east, particularly those about Walker lake and in the lower Carson valley. This influence of the tribes to the east was accentuated by the relative difficulty of interchange with the California tribes living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, who on account of the deep snows of winter were accessible to the Washo only during a part of the year, and with whom communication was difficult at all times on account of this rugged mountain barrier. 171 177

Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
May 10, 191[illegible]

[pp. 26 and 27 are blank]

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, 881
they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family [431]
were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and
bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-
quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth,
though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra 131
Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State
of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two
States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a 171
distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok 177
to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The rela-
tionship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi- [197]
subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root [101]
meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the promin-
ence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns
bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east
are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods,
especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods
are employed in handling the *piñon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry
resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also
very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area
than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication. 881

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean
guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in [177]
developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony,
and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, [785]
named Jack. 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid
on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days,
but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her
before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer
and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would
neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around
summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself [481]
with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light,
and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in
a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain.
Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the
fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because
of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, [431]
dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or
ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring [533]
of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

[P.366, A]

MYTHOLOGY

773 [114] Washo mythology has been presented in the form of interlinear texts by Dangberg (1927) and in Lowie's Ethnographic Notes (1939, pp. 333-351). There are two versions of the creation myth, one describing the creation of Paiute, Washo, and Diggers from the seeds of the cattail by the Creator Woman, and the second attributing the creation of Indians to the Creation Man, who formed the three groups from among his sons to keep them from quarreling. Lowie also reports the common theme of several previous inhabitations of the earth. The most important myth, or at least the one which is still commonly told and seems to be the favorite among the Washo, devotes itself to the adventures of Damalali (short-tailed weasel) and Pewetseli (long-tailed weasel). These heroes are responsible for many of the natural features of the region so references to this myth are rather frequent. The Coyote, in the form of a rather malevolent and stupid trickster, and the Wolf, a generally patriarchal and protective figure, appear in several myths, as do cannibalistic giants and a giant bird, the aŋ.

Figures which appear only incidentally in the myths as recounted are elaborated almost infinitely in what might best be termed folk fantasy.

WATER BABIES

773 776 Most prominent of these figures are the Water Babies (Stewart 1941, p. 444, 2374). In the mythology, Water Baby figures as the creature responsible for the many lakes of the eastern Sierra. Killed and scalped by the rascally Damalali, Water Baby commands the waters of the area to rise until the weasel returns the scalp to avoid drowning. The waters left in mountain valleys as the flood receded formed the lakes.

776 The Water Baby is not confined to mythology. My informants were able to describe the appearance of a Water Baby in detail, to supply me with population figures, and to recount an almost endless series of incidents in which Water Babies were involved.

All informants agreed that the Water Baby is a creature about one and one-half feet tall, gray in color, with extremely long black hair which never touches the ground but which floats along behind the Water Babies when they walk. In general, these creatures look like small humans. However, they are boneless, cold to the touch, and damp.

Between two and three thousand Water Babies live in the Sierra, according to one informant. They inhabit lakes, streams, marshes, ponds, springs, and irrigation ditches. They speak a language of their own but are always able to speak Washo. With a single exception, every Washo of middle age and over to whom I talked claimed to have at least heard Water Babies calling from some body of water in the night. Several others claimed to have seen Water Baby footprints (one even reporting that the footprints he had seen [177] were those of a female because the tracks were clearly those of high heeled shoes!). One informant steadfastly claimed to have seen a Water Baby, at least fleetingly, in 1956.

MYTHOLOGY

776 . Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of
115 my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal
[795] government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a
[756] curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing
[787] to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

776 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spir-
756 its of Washo who have special power, particularly sha-
115 manistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years
[342] and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling
● [177] owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable in-
[434] come from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is ex-
[177] amined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[8] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo), from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then whack, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

---

[611] [8] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work on kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal
[591] elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo [illegible] had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT30 Washo NT30

[P. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2480-2541)

756 The Washo word da'mum'li' has a wide range of
[192] meanings which include almost all people with super-
natural powers, including curers of several orders.
The terms which they use when discussing the sub-
ject in English are somewhat more precise and will
be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2204-06) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town maybe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then maybe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[1]

Far more important than the curers, however, were
the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive
specialists and were apparently expected to share in
the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men.
[177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans
appear to have approached something like specializa-
[436] tion, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session
for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of
shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However,
with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among
the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was
superseded. Today only a single Washo practices sha-
756 manistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now
115 seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's,
[871] and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisti-
cated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shaman-
istic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me),
consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone
[237] whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do
nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that
only some people know how to help nature he was

---

[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

[P. 370, B]

758 of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, when Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power. [276]

● [177] Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

[755] Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, so bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

778
756
[424] Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doctor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted [787]

[P.372, B]

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly mentions a month-long period during which doctors [754] gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [344] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [177] house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P.393, A]

668
177 One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote
[756] cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was
introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of
[182] Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been
superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the
Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an
illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on
the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by
the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen
elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find
out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of
the new cult and the near dissolution of the group
756 headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated
668 much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and
much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is
178 reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time
[276] doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather
is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was
[237] the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior.
The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed
of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often
conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular
[755] peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the
main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body
and spirit.

756 Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indi-
668 ans as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought
suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and
578 their meetings banned. They charged, among other
things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual
691 license. Such open accusations and the bringing of
[648] white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great
deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the
Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

755 Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic
668 curing as these two stories may illustrate.

> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors
> operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty
> soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know
> whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he
> [782] turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when
> I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and
> pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be
> sick so you got to help them white doctors. You
> got to get all those little stones together in one
> place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to
> go to meetings and it helped me before. So every
> night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in
> one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever
> saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that
> Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that
> it should just help them white doctors and get all
> them stones in one place."

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote
[164] chief with special curing power, recounts the events
leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer
of the kidneys.

668 755 "Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

668 756 178 [753] These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for [782] his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

[623] [276] For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

756 668 177 182 757 Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

843 [845] A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

846 829 826 During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

852 When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2296a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2302-2332)

881 [178] Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

881 114 [178] Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the [302] hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that [784] the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, [182] who are in their seventies today (1950).

302 784 178 881 [177] The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

881 [115] The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

> "When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

[P. 376, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

[535] One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] [302] in deference to white notions of modesty which are strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 ?2 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 [535] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo [871] girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS

(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

[P. 377, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
changes which appear to have developed in Washo death
● [177] customs are those imposed by direct intervention of
the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
in other aspects of the culture.

768 In the past, when a person died the house in which
he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such abandonment was simple; during these seasons the Washo
[221] usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death
was a more serious matter; it was during this season
that the Washo lived in the gal'eing'l—a structure
made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often
made these winter houses of brush or tules. In the
foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs
were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be
abandoned and was often burned down, and the immediate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family
which suffered no deaths during the winters might
spend several years in a single campground, whereas
a less fortunate family might have to move every
winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the
others continued to live in gal'eing'l made of boards
and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lumber mills which were quite numerous in the area at
[657] the beginning of the century. In the 1930's, when most
of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for
them by the government, the native-style houses were
abandoned in favor of the wooden houses built by the
764 government. No longer permitted to move about the
768 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
178 more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo adjusted their death customs. The most common adjust-
[656] ment was to prepare for an impending death by shifting seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure,
often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or
lean-to. This structure could be burned down without
loss when its inhabitant died.[7]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occupied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit
from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious attempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett re-
[114] ports that cremation was practiced, and the bones
placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. However, this appears to have been only one of the disposal customs and is not well remembered by Washo
living today. The burning or burying of the personal
possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized
possessions were interred with the body, which was
usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or
bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the mountains. Although there are a number of locations known
by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
[177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days"
there was no special cemetery and that these burial
spots have developed since the coming of the white
man. This may well have been as a result of direct
white interference with native funeral customs and an
insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some
of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

---

[7] The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospital seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

[P.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have
222 been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests
789 that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This,
[731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27) —Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western
[648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive
[177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were
[825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789]
> "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo coun-
try, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eli-
minated the antelope completely in this area. One in-
[177] formant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
[538] law who remembered the antelope songs.

[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunt-
ing information, admitted that he did not know anything
about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor
had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[624] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered
to be magical by this informant who said:
[791]

> "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few
> 224 piles of brush. The people just danced around and
> sang, and that kept them antelope there like they
> 789 was hypnotised. They could keep them right there
> all night that way. After they held them all night
> they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing:
> 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but
> [533] we want you for fine food,' or something like that.
> I heard the song once but I never learned it all.
> I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of
antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which
[186] believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941:
218-220). This explanation compares favorably with
the culture element distribution lists presented by
[114] Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually con-
sidered as part of the shaman complex in antelope
hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute.
(Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (92-98).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit
185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
ing the past century. Several informants recall being
178 told in their youth by old men that often only the hides
were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that
[237] most of the meat was discarded because other game
was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon
put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran
region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
[484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that
in their own youth trips to California after deer were
necessary because there were almost no deer east of
[136] the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population
in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the ear-
ly years of this century. The decrease in antelope and
deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit
as a source of food as well as fur. The communal
nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a
gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope
224 complex to the rabbit hunt.

[171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a
method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken
from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no
[535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive.
Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
224 There was, however, a special leader who directed
624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack
787 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when
791 it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The
man mentioned was described as the last of the real

[P.380, B]

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There ap-
624 pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.
787 Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday.
[782] In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can
just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.' They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week."

[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit
driving is not complete, however, and many Washo pre-
fer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
624 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
224 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that
his presence is important to other Indians. His role
178 is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
(182) and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep
a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was
(177) fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1956, states
that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the
group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
was praying. In the period covered by the memory of
535 my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly
during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably de-
scribed as "just for fun" and probably was more social
than religious, but such dancing appears to have been
part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions
such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and
the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever ten-
dency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of ante-
lope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a
growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which
precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (208, 2038-2041).—Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo.
Many informants steadily deny that bear meat was ever
eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave
a direct answer to the question of why they hunted
bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that
the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation condi-
tions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they
obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The fol-
lowing story told to me by one of the oldest men in
Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a
very old man, is consistent with the stories told by
other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."

---

[787] This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P. 381, A]

> 224 I've heard that they cook it and eat it. . . . not
> [539] only here but up north. After they get the rifle
> they get to killing bears around here but hardly
> ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

This last remark appears to be significant as all
[825] informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally.
Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat
was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.
Another informant adds the detail that when the
bear left his lair, the companions of the man who
entered the den would block the entrance so the bear
could not return. The first man to place an arrow in
the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant
also added at this point: "It's funny that the
[302] fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis
mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was
killed the hunting party painted their faces black.
Other informants claimed not to know of this or said
such painting was done when a mink was killed but
they did not know why.

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more
[539] light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were
camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the
[848] Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a
bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the
Paiute.

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on
[124] the bear, being convinced that my informants either
honestly did not know any more (the bear having been
relatively rare in this area for a good many years)
or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely
sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at
least part of the explanation.

224 A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine
554 County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned
that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood
[764] was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled
with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins,
suggests that the killing of a bear represented
[789] the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of
the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The
rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and
[764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common
for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became
their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any
formalized bear cult among the Washo. However,
825 Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman
171 who impersonated a bear (2388). Certainly the
bear was one of the spirits who could give power to
114 a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism
[795] is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by
Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute
[756] by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only
ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any
sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about
impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) suggest
● [177] that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the
Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock.
However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear,
special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy
about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more
closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators
among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with
825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use
of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although
771 it is not possible to make any conclusive statement
about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[P383, B]

222 ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

527 Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances
[954] have been less frequent. Only one woman among the
Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I
suspect that several others are in possession of this
knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as
leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume
responsible roles.

222 After a number of years without a dance, the custom
527 was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The
178 dances were staged because previous crops had been
poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew
the songs, were not considered too successful because
both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted.
Indian dances were held outside the community
house while younger couples danced in the white manner
inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played
[535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From
the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular
with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly
● [177] dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies
were not successful because of the introduction
of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances
still retain some of their former sacred character. It
was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the
future if the crops were poor. Here again the present
economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these
affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day
dances however, is not considered serious by most
Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there
was any requirement that the dance last four days.
[801] They implied that those who insisted on this were
simply trying to make it sound more important (note
that using the figure four makes something more important).
Their accounts report that the dances might
last from one or two days to a week during which
time games were played, dances held, and the ritual
described earlier carried out. However, there is no
doubt that the dances were important to the success
of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters.
One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts
was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then
[before the dance], we took a bath every day before
we started picking but we didn't have to do that after
the dance."

222 The following incident illustrates the attitude most
824 conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine.
D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an
elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she
discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had
topped a number of trees, which she believed destroyed
their ability to bear. Her response was of
[782] sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for
a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she
222 had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

789 There seems to have been little ritual involved in
other gathering activities, except for the dances to
make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists
(3621). This practice must have been occasional and
[182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the
memories of older informants.

[P.384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

784
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
dealing with hair combing and scratching during mens-
[841] truation, they do recall being warned against combing
their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we
[881) did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband)
used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't
[582] listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having sev-
eral different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
825 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
who traveled about the country participating in the hand
789 game, often carried one. Bat power was considered ex-
[525] tremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it.
"My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an
old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it,
it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo
believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from
two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained
representatives from time to time at one or another
of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appall-
ingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and
neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Per-
manent missionizing efforts apparently have been
abandoned. One church group carries on a summer
Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion ra-
(178] ther than the result of any real desire on the part of
the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem
to have simply incorporated Christian services as an-
other source of power. It is less than surprising that
a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
● [177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have
found white doctors useful but white ministers a rath-
er mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have [3]
been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, 174
which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream,
was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they [361]
had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights
on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big [648]
Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where
there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo
hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American.
Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern
Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. [132]
Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map
(Pl. 46)[1] shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still [133]
resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the
season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied 101
to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu
Tsaisuma or Tsaisu. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means
merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern 648
Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have
been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, 161
about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; [177]
but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a
consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority
of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859,
900; 1866, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last
year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As [101]
the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the
"California Diggers" in the local American consciousness, it is not
likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semiadjustment of [177]
their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on [361]
the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent
underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day: [174]
1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their
country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

[1] [this plate has not been processed] --Analyst

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once 101
they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada 77
must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the [131]
crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color.

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and 285
refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian 171
order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, f)[1], whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil.

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean [177]
influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements.

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root 285
(*Pteridium aquilininum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud 824
(*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras.

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the 285
Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc- 352
171

[1] [this plate has not been processed-- Analyst]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasion- 285
ally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern 352
Great Basin. 171

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may 291
possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small [177]
sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and
skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, 224
and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on
stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the
animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net,
and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from
concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under [624]
the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *pelew-lewe-tiyeli*, whose
position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow 411
was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in.
This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of [171]
weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner 262
food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be [252]
gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. [439]
The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper;
the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. 412
The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which [415]
was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with 342
mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the [171]
mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house
was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12
feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very
similar to the Maidu *hübo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily 343
covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by 177
steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house,
it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the [231]
horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement. [668]

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to 344
the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it,
or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Sho- 535
shonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor 177
the Yokuts make this dance in developed form.

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its Eng- 769
lish name in vogue—but all details are lacking.

The chief, *teubeyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an 622
exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the 583
Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in
form. The dead were cremated. 764

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly de- 114
sirable.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE WASHO INDIANS

Habitat

At the time of their initial contacts with Whites in the middle 1800's the Washo Indians were located at Lake Tahoe and a surrounding territory in what is now California and Nevada (Nevins 1956; Sieber 1951). Varying degrees of tribal ownership of land, depending on intensity and exclusiveness of use, existed aboriginally. Washo shared residence of Antelope Valley with Northern Paiute families, were closely associated with Miwok and Maidu on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and with the Maidu and Northern Paiute in the Honey Lake area. These "peripheral lands" of Washo territory were not considered exclusively Washo, while the "nuclear lands" were vigorously defended by them as such. 101 131 [177] ●

The "peripheral lands" include the widest extensions of common travel in subsistence and trading pursuits. The "nuclear lands" include the common winter residence sites and the surrounding highlands.[1] These territorial lines are the result of a synthesis of territorial descriptions by Royce (1896-7), Barrett (1917), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1941), Indian Claims Commission (1959), d'Azevedo (n.d.), and data collected by the present writer. Families undoubtedly traveled and resided beyond these areas on occasion, but their recognized was essentially within their own of the three territorial divisions of Washo territory shown by the map accompanying this text.

The gathering of food and raw materials for manufactures took the Washo on treks into areas claimed by other tribes. They went south to Antelope Valley for salt (ungabi)[2], farther south to Mono Lake for fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi), down the Carson River to the area of Dayton for red ochre (sawasang) and on farther for fish (atabi), and they traveled down several of the large canyons 20 to 30 miles west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) and other plants. These were treks out of the Washo nuclear lands into areas where contacts with other tribes might be frequent and dangerous. 222 [648]

Washo territory was roughly divided into three areas by which the local groups were distinguished. These were called "northerners" (w¢lm¢lti), "easterners" (pauwalu), and "southerners" (hang¢l¢lti) (Merriam 1904, 38; Lowie 1939, 301; and Freed 1954). There was no consistent wintering in the west so that there was no distinct group of "westerners" (tang¢l¢lti). 619 [221]

---

1. See map Plate I.
[Facing p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2. The values of the orthographic symbols employed here are presented in Appendix A.
[see cat. 116, p. 61 ff. -- Analyst]

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Demtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son ($ahin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the sawmills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 497...

175
other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 177
1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse 492
and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not
even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont
was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was
selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's
trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood
a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

175
"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of 177
Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox,
or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were [492]
in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who
rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided [262]
among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were 175
wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, 657
and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

175
In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 425
1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo.
The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles 427
within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the 648
Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, 434
social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo 264
living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. [177]
With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

In 1942 the average annual income of 49 families at the Dresslerville Colony 434
was $464 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since
increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of [463]
1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dressler- [484]
ville to Reno every work day.

361
Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson 131
City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large [342]
number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities
mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California. [582]

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is 165
probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Hegland, et al. 164
1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths
due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates
in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis,
tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... [962]
Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians
in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among
Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United
States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important 175
events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have
not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as
stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, [177]
but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to
the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Dews Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

302
The hair was cut (gumgaowl) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in [412]
plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in
mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) [881]
was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered [765]
west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed
pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut. [224]

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a head- 301
band (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, 237
while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or
knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to 304
receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a 301
string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by [756]
men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made 301
from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws,
seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads [237]
(makau) or pendants were made from *Olivella*, *Dentalium*, *Haliotis* and local
freshwater shellfish.

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about 302
nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos 304
(mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly [531]
of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed
with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattoo- [386]
ing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp
plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called belnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both 302
men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices,
or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in [751]
the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may [177]
be a rather recent innovation.

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of 302
Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick, 386
[317]

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 342 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B)¹ was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. 186, and plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (patalmi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual [782] requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America. 433

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. 433
If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, 439
we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the 177
force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic develop-
ment seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated
from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the North-
west Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain [133]
terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable
surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and [628]
inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic
development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does 433
not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and 178
more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather,
to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of
hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from [177]
the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and
storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians.
Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture
and animal husbandry.

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was 433
not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multi- 592
functional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many
non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This
multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple 433
technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) 433
defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa- 554
Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known 121
of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization,
together with the principal changes it has undergone
since the coming of the whites. The most significant 177
characteristic of Washo acculturation from the 178
point of view of this study has been the progressive
individualization of the society. This can be seen most
clearly in their economic life, where the old, coöperative [433]
methods of earning a livelihood have given way to
individual wage work. The trend toward individualism [464]
has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of
the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and [535]
curing is less a group affair than it once was, with
the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately [795]
ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare,
another activity requiring group coöperation, was
abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The [726]
effects upon social organization of this trend toward
individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based 115
primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The 114
principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

131
The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who
speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock [197]
(Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied [101]
the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California.
The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

[P.351, A]

a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada. 221

The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains. 221 178 [177]

ECONOMIC LIFE

The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows. 224 [624] [237] [291]

Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95). [411]

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised. [178]

Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324). 224 624 756 [182]

Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939, 224 624 [114]

[P.351,B]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians 224
might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were 624
slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they [114]
were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs.
Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped [411]
in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing
their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had [777]
to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for
the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided
food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin
blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important [513]
food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still
used by a few older Washo. [237]

Today, rabbits are hunted individaully or in a kind
of drive which consists of a line of men moving through 224
the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. 178
Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting
method which is popular among the younger men is to
shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and 262
pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory.
They were gathered in California and carried back in [222]
large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled,
pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached 252
with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular
way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush
into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the
size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the [171]
Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent
Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of 262
the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and
stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was 535
preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the 574
largest social gathering among the Washo. During
these four days, they danced, played games, and
prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo
carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts:
the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate,
and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent
feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round
of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. [525]
After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech
exhorting people to treat children and the aged with [537]
kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they
bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut
plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to [252]
flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts
and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in 262
their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano 178
and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the
various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine
nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered
staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely [177] ●
of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the 226
Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams
draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the [262]
Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques:
they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of
basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams
erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal 226
fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is
with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as op- 178
posed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods.
In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift
from coöperative to individual activity.

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from 464
the old economic system, the economic base of modern 178
Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's.
Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work
on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are
mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades
and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in
the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants,
as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries.
But women do not work unless they must, and they
spend most of their time at home caring for their
families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the [434]
female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably
to the family income by preparing pine-nut [439]
and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The 888
older people have pensions or receive social security 178
payments and are economically independent of their
children. Washo material culture is entirely American 745
except for the items mentioned above and a few others. 177 ●
They now live in permanent settlements resembling
small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, 361
Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far [162]
larger than the number of individuals who lived together
in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated 846
with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for
a month after the birth; the father observed the same
taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until
the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden
sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the [431]
distribution of gifts marked the return of the father
and mother to normal life, the former when the infant
lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after
the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer 844
observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; 846
but if they have their babies in the government hospital,
they generally eat meat when it is served. Often 178
the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have
given up all their previous observances. The custom [431]
of distributing presents following the birth of a baby
is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks
after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal
ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment
of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the
mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the
birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo 881
call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies
of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo
say that during this period the girl was "shaping her
life." The principal features of the ceremony were:
(1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat [785]
and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so [262]
as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night,
the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires;
(4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the
mountain, care being taken that she always won the
race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night
of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony [841]
was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my [178]
interviewing, I have found very few women who had
not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, 881 178 the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is [648] exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. 584 The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. 583 Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the 585 new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very 585 frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marri- 178 ages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of [177] peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. 764 Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned [768] or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for [765] three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief [302] among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to 764 trouble the living. 178 Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. 175 All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with [537] him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can re- [768] turn and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. 756 He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. [754] A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a [776] small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. [192] The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

[P. 354, A]

> basketry decorated with named geometric patterns; language affiliation; soaproot meal brush; looped withe hot rock lifter; flat mush stirring paddle; hopper-mortar; feather-decorated coiled basketry. 171

Certain traits link the Washo with the Great Basin area (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, p. 4):

> . . . long net for catching rabbits by driving technique; special "boss" for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of piñon (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket forms (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by "charming"; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees.

177 ●

Modern Washo culture is largely western American with a moderate number of aboriginal hold-overs. The 178

[P.354, B] 177

old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in lan- 178
guage, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next
chapter, social structure. The most important change
with reference to this study has been the lessening of
coöperative activity. This trend has progressed far-
thest in economics. Although the economic unit has [594]
always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic
activity emphasized group coöperation much more than
it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he [465]
is part of the larger society where economic activity
is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative [464]
strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be
economically independent of relatives and friends. This
same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. [755]
The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but
modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship
between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large [602]
group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral
support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, [535]
have disappeared completely.

[P.363, A]

III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

114
601
177
[121]

This chapter is devoted to determining the causes of the emerging system of kinship terminology. Before we proceed to the explanation which seems to account for the Washo data most satisfactorily, three other explanations will be considered. The first is that the alternate terms are due to a process which Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.) call loan translation, that is, the old Washo terms are adapted to the English kinship system. This explanation deserves attention because the alternate Washo terminological usages form a lineal type of kinship terminology resembling the English kinship system.

The case for loan translation is strongest in the parental generation because the two separate terms for father's brother and mother's brother have been reduced to a single term which may be equated with the English term "uncle." But the terms for aunts have not undergone a similar merging, and it is fair to ask why loan translation should be restricted to uncles.

The use of loan translation as an adequate explanation encounters further difficulties with regard to the alternate cousin and nephew-niece terms. The process of loan translation should result in a single Washo term being used for cousins; instead, the Washo use four distinct terms. Furthermore, one of the informants who uses alternate cousin terms speaks no English and another speaks only a few words. These informants could not be directly affected by the English terminological system. In the first descending generation, the process of loan translation should alter the Washo terminology so that a single term is applied to nephews and another to nieces. But this has not happened; in the emerging terminology, all siblings' children are lumped under a single term, thereby ignoring the sex distinction between nephews and nieces. It seems clear that loan translations do not in themselves adequately account for alternate Washo terminological usages.

This is not to say that the Washos' knowledge of the American kinship system has no effect on Washo kinship terminology. It may be one of several causes of the alternate terms. But the new Washo terminology is not due solely to loan translation, for the new terms do not agree closely enough with the English system. I found only one clear case of loan translation: one informant called his nephews by one term and his nieces by another. This usage agrees exactly with the English system of terminology, a circumstance one might reasonably demand before using loan translation as an explanation of terminological change.

601
178

A second possible explanation is that the alternate terms arise from unusual circumstances whereby a relative assumes a role ordinarily played by another relative and is therefore called by the kinship term appropriate for the assumed role instead of by the term ascribed by his genealogical position. I found only one case of this kind among the Washo: a woman called a cousin by the term "older sister" instead of the genealogically correct term "younger sister" because they were raised in the same house and her cousin was actually ten years older than she. The age

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

ALAN P. MERRIAM
Northwestern University
AND
WARREN L. D'AZEVEDO
Northwestern University

I

The Washo

197 THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically
as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking
131 peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited
a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the
north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut
Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the
161 Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is
variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at
the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

621 The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities
[596] composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full
range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a
361 highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing
178 tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements
621 of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided
464 by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for
[434] families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on
road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants
[357] in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes,
311 while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part
433 of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during
the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homo-
177 178 geneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

* ### *The Peyotists*

668 Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having
[177] been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned
the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes.
In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic
group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39.
By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings
were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside
over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a
handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

A person has to do his best. Sing the song just the way you heard it. It takes a long 668* breath to sing good, to hold all those notes coming down and going up. Sometimes the 533* medicine makes it sound better to you.

Song types

The major distinction drawn between Peyote song types is based upon an arbitrary designation of "main" songs as opposed to "unconnected" songs. The latter are those which may be sung at any time in any company and with any combination of other songs, while the former are sung under much greater restriction. The "main" songs are considered special; they may be reserved for the special opening, midnight, after-midnight, morning, or before-quitting times in an actual Peyote meeting but are always part of a special song cycle. Such songs should be sung in meetings or on an equally solemn occasion, and conversely, it is generally thought improper to sing them outside of meetings; in so doing, one runs the risk of "spoiling" them.

Both types of songs may be sung at specific times in Peyote ceremony. This relegation of songs to certain periods during the meetings seems to have nothing to do with either musical quality or type; rather, it is an arbitrary distinction made by each singer about the songs in his repertoire. It may be that the person who taught the singer the song told him that it was a morning or a before-midnight song, for example, or he may decide this for himself. On the other hand, he may also sing them at any time during the meetings. Various informants revealed different attitudes about this matter, and except for the individual distinction as to the category of songs by a few members, most members sing their songs at any time. The only songs which seem to be required at any particular time are those of the roadchief, who has his own special starting, midnight, and quitting songs.

Songs also are organized into sets or cycles. Such cycles are made up of four songs which are always sung in a particular order, and this gives them a unique quality to most Peyotists. "They are then a set of songs. If he starts one you can be sure the others will follow. They are connected. They are his songs." The songs may be learned at different times and in different places, and then put together in certain order by the singer, or a set may be made up of four versions or four repetitions of the same song; examples of each are included in the present study. A partial explanation for this difference in rendition seems to be indicated by historical evidence. It has been reported that fifteen years ago very few Washo sang at all, for most of the old songs were forgotten and no new ones had been learned. Ben Lancaster, the original pro- [177] selytizer, had learned a few songs in Oklahoma and from the Gosiute, and these he taught to his members. At the same time he encouraged people to sing any songs they knew at the meetings—gospel songs, traditional Washo songs, popular American songs (cowboy, hillbilly), or songs of other tribes that they might have learned (Stewart 1944). Apparently because most individuals knew only a song or two at most, it became the custom to repeat the same song four times in the cycle rather than to sing four different songs.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

*
668 *533 [578] [178] [554] Along with the schisms which have developed in the cult during the breakaway from the Lancaster tradition during the past fifteen years, there is now an emphasis in the Tipi Way faction of the cult on knowing many songs and having different songs arranged into four-song cycles. The arrangement is usually an individual matter, and a person who has learned twelve to twenty-four songs and arranged three or six cycles is considered a very accomplished Peyotist.

However, among those who have remained in Lancaster's original group, the singing of one song through a cycle has become traditional; thus if a man knows ten songs he has material for ten cycles. Individuals in this group have learned as many new songs as have the Tipi Way people, but place a traditional ritualistic importance on singing a single song per cycle. "If you got a good song," they say, "it is your song and it is part of you. Maybe that song is the best one for you." On the other hand, Tipi Way people express the opinion that "it is boring to hear a man repeat the song so many times."

*

Sources of songs

668 *533 177 There are apparently two major sources of Peyote songs for the Washo—other people, and on-the-spot inspiration; the former seems to be far the more frequent. Of eighteen songs in the present collection for which the origin is fairly well documented, seventeen were learned from other people. Of these, three were learned from Sound Chief records (1 Cheyenne and 2 Kiowa songs), and fourteen directly from other Peyotists in the period from 1939 to 1947. The listing shows 3 Bannock, 3 Shoshone, 2 Paiute and 1 Klamath ("they sound like any other Peyote song") songs, and five songs which were "learned in Idaho." The singers seem to be least sure of the songs learned by listening to records. Of the others, the individual learns the song from some leader, friend, or even from a stranger at certain meetings in which he has achieved the degree of involvement necessary to absorb the song "all at once," or "so that it just came into my head."

*
668 *533 176 The songs made up by individuals seem also to involve dramatic learnings; the singers say that when one "catches a song" it is learned all at once in a moment of great emotional intensity. Of the single song created by a known individual, the composer commented that it was a song that "just came to me" at a Tipi Way meeting. "I never heard anyone else sing it. Maybe I might have heard it someplace a long time before that, and the meeting helped me to catch it—that happens sometimes. I always sing that song the same way; don't change it none."

Most songs seem to have been embellished, consciously or unconsciously altered over time, combined, improvised, forgotten and "caught" again in new form as one's own. The last are thought of as "new" or "my" songs, but the singer has no inclination to hide the fact that he was influenced by another song, and that "I just changed it a little." Nevertheless, it does become a "new" song.

The following illustrates one of the rare instances of known individual creation, and also gives some indication of the process of variation: 668* 533*

> When I was a child in Carson Valley I used to go out in the fields at night during a thunder storm to listen. Lightning and thunder had a special fascination for me, and 176 I still dream about it. I remember how the sound of thunder seemed to strike against [773] Job's Peak and then glance off and go rolling northward like the sounds which had followed and swallowed up "the old lady and the old man" (mythological creatures in the Washo creation tale). While the thunder was rolling away I could hear him singing a song; his voice was that sound thunder makes when it echoes among the mountains. I can remember that song, and I can sing it. I have sung it ever since I was a child. It is my song. The words went *li wa . . . li wa na*. That *li* sound was a kind of white man's language sound, kind of hard and rolling along . . . *li wan*.

Later, when the informant began to attend Peyote meetings, he started by singing this song, but in time he changed the "words" a bit to sound like *han a wan*. He did this to make it sound more like "Peyote song words." He was [821] not sure that the original sounds were appropriate because they were filled with his earlier fears as well as his feeling that thunder and lightning were his [778] "power." Peyote forces one to put these earlier powers aside and trust in Peyote. As time went on, he began to change the song slightly to include parts of other songs that struck him as similar to his. He heard one song from a [177] member in Idaho which fitted into his own song. "But it is really my own song and pretty much the way I used to sing it when I was a kid; the way it moves and the words still remind me of the way thunder sounds when it echoes and bounces along the valley."

Variation, effect of recorder, and rivalry

It is difficult to ascertain many clear-cut patterns with respect to allowable 668* variation in Washo Peyote songs. The range varies from a frank admission of 533* improvisation during the course of the song, to saying about a "main" song that "It can't be changed in any way or it is wrong. You learn it that way and you keep it that way." It appears that, ideally at least, "main" songs are never changed; apparently other songs may be varied to the point of becoming "new." Under normal circumstances, the singer seems to try to keep the original version fairly well in mind—"I try to sing it the same way," or "If you can, you keep the song like you heard it"—but on the other hand, "I can't quite get it just the same," and "it is all right to change it some time." There is also a clear recognition of changing songs, expressed in such statements as:

> I made lots of changes, but I don't know exactly what they are now. I put some of my own sounds in and changed the tune a little. You can do that if you feel like it.

> I tried to keep the old words as much as possible, but I couldn't understand them anyway, so little by little I stuck in some sounds from my own language that seemed good.

At the same time, "it is important to keep the rhythm as much the same as you can; that's a special part of the song."

In the fifth cycle the singer sang five songs; when questioned he averred that "it doesn't make any difference outside the meetings," but he was more

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Great Basin peoples the Washo have been unevenly 101
studied by professional anthropologists. A common theme that runs through 177
much of the early written comment, and into the ethnographic literature of
the first few decades of this century, is the anticipation of their imminent
extinction. In the very earliest accounts of mountain men and travelers they
were frequently mistaken for Paiutes, and in the reports of the Indian agents
of the 1850's and 60's they were seldom considered worthy of mention except
as an extremely depressed and dependent group in the process of dying out
or being absorbed by their more aggressive neighbors.

Population figures reported during the 19th century were highly contradictory [161]
and misleading, for they failed to take into account the extreme
mobility of the Washo, and the dispersed character of settlement pattern even [14]
during the winter months. Furthermore, the Indian agents were concerned [361]
primarily with those peoples within their areas of jurisdiction who presented
well defined administrative and political problems to the government in the
protection of the interests of American migrants and settlers. The Washo
offered minimal resistance to the intruders. They were never sufficiently (361)
organized to make effective demands in their own behalf, and within a very
few years of contact part of the population had established itself in semi-sedentary
dependent colonies around white settlements. It was groups of this
sort -- particularly in the vicinity of major white settlements in the Carson
and Truckee valleys -- that were identified as "The Washo tribe" in early
reports. Little or nothing was known of actual territorial distribution of the
people, and agents were ignorant of many bands that maintained some degree
of autonomy and isolation.

Another factor of importance in defining the status of the Washo as a 13
group is the placement of their territory in relation to westward American
expansion. The core of this territory is made up of a chain of fertile valleys
on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas from Antelope Valley in the south
to Honey Lake in the north. The abundance of water, fish, small game, edible [222]
plants and seeds made this a relatively rich region for hunters and gatherers.
The extensive growth of pinenut trees on the mountains forming the eastern
boundaries of their territory and the availability of acorns on the western
slope of the Sierras provided large harvests of staple seeds. Large game
was also plentiful in the mountains.

The attractiveness of this region, and its potentialities for farming 177
and grazing, were noted by the first travelers who passed through it to
California after enduring the arduous trek across the dry expanse of the

177 central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

161 164 17 [648] There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

177 648 [231] At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by [161] the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

175 177 113 Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

175
177
113

During the 1840's almost every year is marked by one or more American groups passing through Washo country and leaving some small record of their experience and observation. J. B. Bartleson and John Bidwell went over the Sonora Pass in 1841, and in 1843 Joseph Walker successfully ventured the Walker Pass. In the same year Overton Johnson and William Winter came down the Truckee River and described the conditions of the Washo Indians they found dwelling there. John C. Fremont and Kit Carson discovered the Carson Pass in 1844, and William T. Hamilton wrote of his experiences leading a group of trappers to Honey Lake and Lake Tahoe in the same year. The diary of Moses Schallenberger of the Stevens-Townsend party, who wintered near Donner Lake in 1844, is a document of special importance for this period. The following year Fremont came over the Donner Pass, and in 1846 both the Stephan Cooper Party and the ill-fated Donner Party also attempted the pass. The Mormon Battalion crossed over the Sierras into Carson Valley in 1848, cutting a wagon road as they came; in the same year the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and gold was discovered in California.

A remarkable aspect of these early treks through territory occupied by the Washo is the infrequency of any mention of the inhabitants in the written accounts. An occasional lone Indian or an isolated party of gatherers might be noted, and these are invariably reported as wretchedly poor and frightened. With the exception of the small settlements described by Johnson and Winter on the Truckee River, there is no indication of Washo having been seen in the regular habitation sites that are known to have existed in the valleys through which the American parties traveled. One explanation for this is provided by the Washo themselves whose oral traditions state that the valley people fled to the hills when scouts warned them of the approach of strangers. In the period of increased trapper and emigrant activity it is said that the Washo moved their settlements to more remote sections of these areas and kept constant watch over the movements of the intruders. It was not until the appearance of large groups of emigrants and the opening of trading posts and permanent white settlements that the Washo began to make themselves known. The development of a dependent relation to whites was accelerated by the disruption of their seasonal hunting and gathering activities through alienation of land, cattle grazing, and epidemics during the first decade or two of contact.

The second phase of the historical record is that of the reports of settlers, Indian agents, and travelers from 1850 to about 1877. With the discovery of gold in California emigrant wagon trains increased. The creation of the Territory of Utah in 1850, including much of the present state of Nevada, encouraged Mormon settlement. The trading post at Genoa was known as "Mormon Station" and immigrants began to settle in Carson Valley as well

as in the valleys to the north. The reports of the agents to the Commissioner 175
of Indian Affairs provide brief but significant comment on the Washo during 177
this period. But, as indicated above, the reports were dominated by the
agents' preoccupation with the more aggressive and populous Paiute and Shoshone 113
in the eastern sections of Utah Territory. Settler diaries are another source of data, though few of these have been published and they, too, indicate little interest in the Washo, who apparently created few problems for the whites.

The period of professional ethnographic observation of the Washo may 113
be said to have begun with the work of Stephan Powers in the 1870's. His manuscript The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes written in 1875, and his contribution to the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California in 1876, are the first attempts to present the results of scholarly survey of these people. During the same period A. S. Gatschet made the first formal statement concerning the Washo language in an article Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories published in 1882. His data were derived from vocabularies collected by Powers and others. The pioneering work of John Wesley Powell should be mentioned here, as well, for his efforts to summarize the data on Indian languages and their distributions in his 1891 work, Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico, included all that was known of the Washo language. This was also the period of important historical works such as Thomas Thompson and Albert West's History of Nevada published in 1881, and Hubert Howe Bancroft's History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming published in 1890. These works provide interesting data on early Indian-white relations, and little known events in which the Washo figured.

At the turn of the century C. Hart Merriam collected extensive vocabulary and cultural checklists from among the Washo. Though these manuscripts have not been published, they are among the most complete sources of data on the Washo from that period (1904). Dr. Simeon L. Lee, a resident of Carbon Valley and an amateur collector, was active for many years assembling a quantity of Washo technological products which were later donated to the Nevada State Museum. This collection, and the accompanying journal by Dr. Lee, constitute a prime source of information concerning Washo material culture of 60 or more years ago.

In the first few years of the 1900's the extremely vigorous investigations of California and Great Basin Indians initiated by A. L. Kroeber and R. H. Lowie resulted in increased ethnographic knowledge about the Washo. Roland B. Dixon's study of the Maidu included materials concerning their relations with the Washo and the delineation of territories. His articles, in collaboration with Kroeber, on the languages of California included the Washo,

the terminological system used by the majority of the modern Washo. The 601
terms are listed in Table 1. A diagram of the consanguineal kinship system [114]
is given in Fig. 1. The morphophonemic analysis of the kinship terms in
Table 1 is based on unpublished work made available by Jacobsen. In the [127]
first column, the numbers assigned to each term are the same as the numbers used in Fig. 1; the English translation of the Washo term appears in the second column; the singular form with the first person possessive pre-
fix is listed in the third column; and the fourth column gives the morpho- [193]
phonemically basic form of the stem. Almost all kinship terms require the use of a possessive prefix, even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. A hyphen preceding the stem in Table 1 indicates that a possessive prefix is always necessary.

The Washo call all cousins older or younger sibling depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. Kroeber (1917) states that cousins are called older or younger brother, in accordance with their own ages rather than the ages of their parents. This statement was checked with a number of older informants; they all agreed that the terms used for cousins depend upon the ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than upon the ages of ego and his cousins. Jacobsen (1958) supports our interpretation. There is, however, a tendency on the part of the younger Washo to call their cousins older or younger siblings depending upon their own age and the ages of their cousins rather than upon the ages of the parents. Another tendency among present-day Washo is to make a terminological distinction between siblings and cousins by using for cousins the terms
numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in Table 1. Thirteen of our informants made [177]
this distinction for some or all of their cousins. This terminological usage is not confined to the young but occurs among older people as well. However, it appears to be a relatively recent change that stems from acculturation rather than a pre-white usage (Freed, 1960, 360).

In the first ascending generation, there are six distinct terms for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives, a point upon which all our informants were quite definite. According to both Lowie (1939) and Siskin (1941), mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This, however, was true only when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. Lowie and Siskin may have obtained their information from the descendants of such a marriage. The younger Washo tend to use a single term for mother's brother and father's brother. This usage, however, is not widespread; it occurs only three times in our sample of 70 people.

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
755 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through
756 a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman
(Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively
unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears
headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his position through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
527 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent re-
791 vival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony.
Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their
[262] livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go
to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its
disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to
organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and
881 the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman
can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect
upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
177 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut
178 dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present
for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's
curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

178
562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably ● [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

128
105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

762
cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. [784]
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the
threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The [626]
father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide
is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no
chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that peo- 762
ple do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men at- 626
tempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal
difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the 562
fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male
authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was
revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo.
"... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as
clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women
see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as
clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication [157]
that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We
believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and can-
not be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more [157]
difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted
in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48;
Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men
may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of
the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control,
three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by wom-
en that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages 762
has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha 273
Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin
drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its 177
role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one. 626
If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness
is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Sui-
cide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of
the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo be-
come hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a per-
son may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken
brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor
consideration.

178 668 756 [787] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

147
158

alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

121 [273] [771] 6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

● [177] 7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

[463] 8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

[623] 9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun
actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing
one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say
"Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body
"Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
(183) To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old
was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[415] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of
[431] her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped
in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is con-
[431] cealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws
the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over
her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a
proposal of marriage."

177
178 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
821 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
525 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the
524 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

535 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
881 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
574 the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days
later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next
[431] onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the
puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (?uwí'ya,
melehêhe? and ɬe?wê?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again fol- 881
lowed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the 574
final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants [262]
agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually [582]
more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important so- 178
cial event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have 881
changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony 178
today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural 574
America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks 881
and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women
is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl,
and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted [177]
from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking [191]
and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and
pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the [273]
evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting,"
may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and [578]
fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged
and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (l̓eʔwéʔweʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a.m. With the exception of acorn
[177] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates
[262] and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a.m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of water was poured over her.
[431] She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a.m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p.m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a.m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a.m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a.m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

881
224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
[178] tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [593] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

Death

Death (deyŭliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121 The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

N W 121 182 It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

N W 121 One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

N W 121 177 The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

Northern Paiute NR13

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. W [825] [771] The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. W [361] However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). W N [177] Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

Northern Paiute NR13

Contact and Occupation

W
N
175
177
648

The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later peiods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

Northern Paiute NR13

Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

W
N
175
177
648

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

W
175
177
648

The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i. e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

W
[183]
[476]
[574]
[735]

Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

W
175
177
361
648

W
[161]

---

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

Northern Paiute NRB

W
175
177 number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925).
648 It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other
361 areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.
[161]

N
W
175
177
648 The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

W
[137] The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

N
W
175
177
648

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

N
[361]

W
N
[182]

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

W
[361]

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

W
[562]
[464]

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

N
175
648

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

Northern Paiute NR13

N 177 [231]

northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game.

There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

N 177 648

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations.

The White Man: Culture without Society

W N 175 177 648 ●

In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

Northern Paiute NR13

W
N
175
177
648

country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

W
175
648

The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

Northern Paiute NR13

W 175 648

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them.

N 175 177 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations.

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

N W 177 182 22

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

N 175 177 648 668

In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

Northern Paiute NR13

N
175
177 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination
648 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to
668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items
of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However,
W they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once
[668] again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although
● 177 the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian
182 tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made
what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This
648 adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W
Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened,
[622] the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent
[666] them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on
W another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly
[181] unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and
[623] other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion
and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of
177 avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo
648 as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A
177 greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the
178 war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encour-
619 aged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This in-
621 creased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

Northern Paiute NR13

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white N
culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the 177
Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. 178
It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as 619
Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from
aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance 621
of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets
(Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency N
toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The 177
first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced 62
were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance 554
of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige *per se* so that even the
peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in
postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, W
however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication 177
with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular 554
status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to 622
believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo
tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt
to introduce new ideas through such men.

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among W
the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although 177
there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to 178
deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock
mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and N W
post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time 105
of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

Northern Paiute NR13

N W 105

of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 105 177 178 648

The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 ● 177 178 648

The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

W [106]

N W 105 177 178

Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

N
The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the W
Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo 105
women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bed- 177
rock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to 178
have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful parapher- W
nalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does [186]
not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-
labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or [668]
ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute [464]
have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

N
It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south 105
and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common eco-
logical adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The 177
withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off 182
intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus,
when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white live-
stock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a
modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock,
and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to
treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reser-
vations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and en-
couraged political development but also provided land for farming.

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo W
range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big 105
animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was
simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify 177
the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, 182
Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed.
The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands
changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

[3] This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

Northern Paiute NR13

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 W [122] 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

DDD 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

WASHO RESPONSE TO ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

by James F. Downs

23
121
[114] In this paper I will discuss Washo response, or more properly, lack of response, to a single aspect of white culture, animal husbandry. The data herein presented were gathered in 1959 as a continuing study of the impact of animal husbandry on human culture and society in which the Washo serve as a negative but nonetheless important example. The Washo were selected because reference to the literature and discussions with W. L. d'Azevedo suggested that the Washo response to the introduction of livestock was very different from what has come to be accepted as usual in the western part of the North America. This response appeared even more notable when compared to the reaction of the nearby Paiute and Shoshoni groups, which served as a basis for a considerable body of theoretical speculation (Steward, 1955).

By examining a negative case I hope to demonstrate at least some of the adjustments and adaptations necessary in a society, previously without animal husbandry, before animal husbandry can be successfully incorporated. I shall not attempt to explain why the Washo failed to make such adjustments except by a general reference to the arguments outlined elsewhere, which, although they suggest a reason for a difference in response between the Washo and their neighbors, do not offer explanations for the exact course of the Washo response.

In the interests of brevity and clarity of argument I shall not attempt to reconstruct the entire process of change as it has taken place since the 1840's, but shall limit the discussion to the immediate question of animal husbandry.

Contemporary Washo

177
648 The Washo today can be viewed as a socially assimilated people. That is, the Washo have not developed institutions within their own society in response to the changes brought about by white occupancy of their territory. Law enforcement is carried out by the county officials in the counties where the Washo reside, and offenders are tried in local and state courts (although, in theory, crimes committed in the Dresslerville community should be dealt with by the Federal Government). Education for Washo children is provided by local schools in Nevada and California. Old age and blindness pensions are paid by the states involved, and, in fact, the choice of a homesite often

177 648 is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians).

[623] [423] The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases.

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

241 563 [433] I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo.

245 [247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Carson River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

492 489 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

231 177 541 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero, the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

[1] Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably[40-] aboriginally.

[2] [see footnote, p.150 -- Analyst]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite
openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy mak-
ing remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might
provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to
pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were
[177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the
[233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family
meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his
Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Sur-
554 prisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-
Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo
today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted
tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment
near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a
small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his
[246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for
[313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle
[476] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or
failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The
[178] Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected
Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direc-
tion for their people.

123 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about
pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluc-
124 tance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt
231 to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants
who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years
before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about
horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details
of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when
asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only re-
sponse to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keep-
ing it for a friend.

224 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a
lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally con-
825 ceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of
native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He in-
variably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name,
speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With
obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

224
[825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" [888] was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

233
825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231
241
311
177 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agriculture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an im- 241
portant seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but
apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of
the plant.

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the 177
Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 243] on Indian horse tribes 231
in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to
the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of
horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the
1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3).
A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo.
The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever
since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered
and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic
animals in the folklore of the Washo.

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one [124]
of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants de-
scribed long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most per- [492]
sistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team.
The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as [484]
pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken
quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people.
The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the his- 175
torical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 177
1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some 231
white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off danc- 648
ing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi.
from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating [262]
the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the
darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White
men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed,
or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof.
Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed
so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonethe-
less, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hos-
tile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered 231
newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode [175]
horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still

231 Generally, News accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn
gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants
recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the
1880's.

● 177 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting
222 in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the
ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the
492 Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons
furnished by the whites.

175
177 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the
492 Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport
764 the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and
eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or
423 Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any
[233] such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There
was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in
Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted
as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other
clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were
extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were,
therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early
established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured
legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were
made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water,
[313] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be
[464] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser,
buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of
177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses
222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gathering trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at
492 a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor
of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to
Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible
177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their involvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo
241 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or
971 wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School,
[492] which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

However, most men 177
who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, 241
although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that 871
the school now serves Indians of many tribes. [186]

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert
horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor 492
deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during
my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string [422]
of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as
guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other [427]
Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road." [178]

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse 177
was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse 224
days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the
net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried 492
his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse
could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind
him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits
a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the
wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no
equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon
as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his
own.

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany 464
cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that 492
they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was
available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy.

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly 177
adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points 489
out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost
during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development 492
of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because
the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or 493
other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which
ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he
turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad 177
within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the
horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy 489
permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the
Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other
obstructions.

177
464
484
During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

233
177
Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo's becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. [517] It is interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

177
231
579
154
The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

177
231
The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience 177
with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large 231
animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture it- 177
self holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest con- 178
tact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and
technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. 231
Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle [361]
without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band
became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of
food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills
such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering be-
havior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by
white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the [433]
Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, in-
volving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income pos-
sibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century
this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commer- 177
cial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, 464
ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo ac- 433
cepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or 231
even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. How-
ever, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from 178
field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their [458]
skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depres-
sion which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the 177
Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear 178
231

177
178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

124
231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

231 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
825 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
773 view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
771 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the
177 nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other
171 Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

195 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
825 musěge, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous
231 beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musěge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musěge only if he manages to show his superiority to

195
the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musěge 231
is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors 825
or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musěge is the
common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous
and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude ap- 231
pears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous ani- 825
mals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new
(and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when 177
he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's inva-
sion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers,
1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If
we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep [154]
grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be
couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder,
we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real
identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals
appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. More- [789]
over the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the
Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic
livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at
the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of hus-
bandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is con-
sidered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot con-
tribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate
the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has hap-
pened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a
clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore,
have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild
categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for
the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to 231
see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo 177
have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo
language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic
animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although
he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear- [262]
cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals.
Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to
ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of
the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and
skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication"
or "domestic animals."

177

231 The Washo example serves to illustrate how varied the response to a particular complex of behavior can be. It serves, if nothing more, as a warning that it is not possible from the nature of the introduced behavior to easily anticipate what the response in the receiving culture will be. It further suggests that the subject of response to animal husbandry among Indian tribes outside the more well known and dramatic area of the Great Plains may shed meaningful light on the process, and on the effects of the diffusion of animal husbandry in the New World.

Notes

880

1. Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

231
177
541
2. This reflects one of the dominant themes of white culture in the West. Cattle raising is one of the major industries. Moreover, it is an activity with prestige. The romanticized figure of the cowboy is dominant throughout the area. In Gardnerville amateur ropers form one of the largest and most active recreational groups, and rodeo is a major spectator sport.

N
W
114

PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

N
W
[115]
[77]
[795]

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

N
W
114
795
[122]

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

N
W
114
122
000

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

N
W
[127]

I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

N
W
175
276

short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[3] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

N
W
177
276
*795

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[4] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[5] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[6]

N
W
171
177
276
*795

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[7] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

IDEOLOGY OF PEYOTISM

N
W
182
276
*795

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

---

[3] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[4] Beals, 1932, 216.

[5] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[6] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[7] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

N That five or six years
114
175
*795

may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

N
W
114
*795

To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From the first interview it was clear that the Washo-Northern Paiute Indians were sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary to go beyond a cultural analysis.

N
W
124
*795

It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

N
W

First Contacts

● 177
*795

The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

N W 177 795* ●

peyote,"[10] most of the adult Indians in the area of its distribution remembered in November, 1938, previously hearing of peyote, some having had personal experience with it.

In 1924, Dan Voorhees (P,1)[11] and Johnny Cleveland (P,1) heard that peyote was successfully used in a curing ritual in Oklahoma. A mixed-blood Sioux or Ponca, Tom Knudsen, the government farm agent then at Schurz, showed them an Indian Service pamphlet condemning peyote, but told them his family had been cured by it.

N 177 755 795*

Actual experience came through Leo Okio, an "Eastern Indian," who held meetings at Nixon, Fallon, and Schurz in the fall and winter of 1929–1930. When with the Northern Paiute, he lived with Joe Green, a Paiute shaman at Nixon, who befriended him and was convinced of peyote's power after seeing Leo cure cases of paralysis and pneumonia. Joe learned the relevant songs and assisted in the ritual. More than a dozen Indians described the 1929 meetings, several as eyewitnesses. The ritual differed in several particulars from the present Washo-Paiute cult, resembling what is known in the Great Basin as the "old Sioux way."[12] As many as seventy Indians attended Leo's meetings, some coming from as far away as Bishop, California, and McDermitt, Nevada. Although a number of converts were made, peyotism completely ceased as an active force when Leo Okio left. He is now principally remembered as an Indian doctor who took much money from the people and whose patients all died.

W 177 795*

Raymond Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin) (Ute,2), the second to hold meetings in the western Great Basin, arrived about 1932. A Uintah Ute, he had learned of peyote at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in 1913. Before marrying a Washo girl and settling with her tribe (where he was in 1938), he had also attended peyote meetings in Rose Bud, South Dakota; Fort Washakie, Wyoming; Blackfoot, Montana; Ignacio, Colorado; Uintah (Ute) and Ibapah (Goshute), Utah; and Dolce, New Mexico. Lone Bear was harbored by Sam Dick, a Washo shaman at Minden, Nevada. Soon he started "Sioux way" meetings and also "doctored" as an "old-time" shaman. Successful with both techniques, he collected for a few months from $15 to $60 for a single treatment. Nearly all the Washo in the vicinity attended his meetings. Sam Dick learned the peyote songs and made a kettledrum, acting as drummer during the rituals. Eventually, Lone Bear ruined himself by drinking too much and getting in jail too often. After his first period of success, he held only a few meetings. He has not been allowed to affiliate with the new movement.

N W 177 795*

Besides the knowledge of peyotism brought to them by foreign Indians, the Washo–Northern Paiute also learned of peyotism on visits to other tribes. It is impossible to state exactly how many attended meetings elsewhere or heard of them, but I have information of several. Johnny Wright (by some called John Harrington)[13] (P,6) gives an interesting account. He had been converted to peyotism, "the

---

[10] La Barre, 1938, 120, fn. 72: "Willard Park informed me in 1936 that the Paviotso [i.e., Northern Paiute] lacked peyote." Joe Green, one of Park's informants, joined the cult in 1929, continued believing in it, and reaffiliated with it in 1936. He said, "I didn't tell Willard Park about peyote because he didn't ask me."

[11] P, W, and S represent Northern Paiute, Washo, and Shoshone respectively, the tribes of the informants; figures agree with numbered places on the map, where informants live.

[12] The "old Sioux way" or "old Ute way" is still followed by a minority of the peyotists on the Goshute and Uintah-Ouray reservations. Although no detailed description is available, I have learned from the Indians that the moon is smaller, sometimes constructed on a piece of velvet; usually only four peyote buttons are eaten; there is no smoking; meetings are conducted strictly and without levity; and members are very pious. Rules of conduct resemble those of the Oto peyote church (Church of the First Born; see La Barre, 168–169).

[13] Wright interpreted for me in 1936; see Stewart, 1941.

N W 177 *795

Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kickapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Becone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

N W 159 *795 797

1936 PROSELYTER BEN LANCASTER

The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stagecoach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white.[11] Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

---

[11] On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

N
W
159
795*
797

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[*] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

N
W
[578]

W
N
[177] ●

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

N
W
171
177
795*

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

---

[*] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

N W 171 ● 177 *795

contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

N W 171 177 562 *795 [841]

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right. . . . It makes them feel better, more equal."

N W [796]

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[illegible] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

N W 171 177 *795

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

N W [533]

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[illegible]

N W [534] [237] [755]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[illegible] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[illegible] Curtis, 1920, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

N W 171 177 795* [346]

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[*] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

N W [262]

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

N W 171 177 795* 824 [276]

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[*] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

N W 177 795* 796

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after mid night (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[*]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

---

[*] La Barre, 61.

[*] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.

[*] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

N
W
177
*795
796

of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

N
W
[535]

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[30]

N
W
[514]
[415]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

N
W
177
578
*795

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

N
W
177
182
533
*795

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

---

[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 159), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

N
W
177 ●
795*
[182]
[533]

through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

N
W
[754]
[171]

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

N
W
171
276
795*

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

N
W
177
795*

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[*] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

---

[*] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

N W 177 *795

does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

N W 182 571 578 *795

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[31] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. N W [648] Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[32] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.[33]

N W 182 754 *795

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

---

[31] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[32] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[33] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

N

W
with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben 182
is "robbing the Indians." 433

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle 795*
and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months
of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecu- [434]
tive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the N
cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[illegible] Two who temporarily joined the W
peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, [578]
the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist
a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is sug-
gested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism. N

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were W
also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[illegible] Just as 182
real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction 571
of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An ex-
amination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk 602
in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be 795*
apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd
rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire N
for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[illegible] W

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, 182
wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or 795*
two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe. N

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

W

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly 177 ●
or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural 795*
compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

---

[illegible] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[illegible] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[illegible] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

N
W

● 177
*795

if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[illegible] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[illegible] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[illegible] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

N
W
[755
[171
W
[801
[756
[276
[787

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

N
W
[755
[534
[276
[533
N
[801
[823
[787
[755

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

---

[illegible] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a *few* Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[illegible] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[illegible] Steward, 1933, 318.

N

W complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. 177 Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and 795* explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism.[illegible]

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed N was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the 177 meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living 795* beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They N believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural N aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. [755] The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actu- N ally needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipõ that they use down south."[illegible] W

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, 177 there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have 182 lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, 795* however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal, only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents.[illegible]

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

---

[illegible] La Barre (105–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[illegible] Muipõ might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[illegible] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

W
● 177 182 *795 compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted. N W

N W 177 554 *795 As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of N W [124] Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Coleville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III,[1] show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[illegible] N W

157 177 *795 Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

---

[illegible] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27-28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101-107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 123-Au]

N W

differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors. 157 177 795*

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism.[77]

N W

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant. 177 795*

N W

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worth while to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration.[78] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California. 171 177 668 795*

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

---

[77] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.

[78] 1925:868–873.

W
171 of a new type of living."[illegible] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffu-
● 177 sion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) con-
668 cerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists
*795 at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."[illegible]

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

N
W
177
*795
797

What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

N
W
[171
668]

The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

---

[illegible] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[illegible] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●
Yurok NS31
Comanche NO6

N

W

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who con- 171
ducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at 177 ●
Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid
shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not 668
doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported 785*
by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The 787
appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Chetco Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." Y
A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his [668]
character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted [787]
to join."[75] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[76] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege. N

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one W
of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[77] The Arapaho Sitting 171
Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

---

[75] Du Bois, 23, 27.

[76] Tom Garth, field notes.

C
[77] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost [177]
Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its [668]
spread among his tribe."

N
W
171

return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus.[a]

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

N
W
177 ●
795*

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

N
W
[797]

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

---

[a] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

N W ● 177 between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

*795 Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

N W [182] All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PLATE 1

N
W *a.* Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote para-
*795 phernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to
me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made
534 drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this
[177] picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a
● peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo
indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute
way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree.
March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held
for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

W
[791] *b.* Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in
front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

N *c.* Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and
W officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife);
*795 Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning
796 after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.